What the Berrigans Mean; Games Corporations Play; Stage — Buchwald and Feiffer on Broadway

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TORTURE IN BRAZIL

ONE OF THE FIVE POLITICAL PRISONERS RELEASED BY THE BRAZILIAN MILITARY REGIME AND FLOWN IN EARLY MARCH INTO MEXICAN EXILE (IN EXCHANGE FOR THE SAFETY OF A KIDNAPPED JAPANESE DIPLOMAT) WAS A ROMAN CATHOLIC NUN, SISTER MAURINA BORGES DA SILVEIRA. ARRESTED IN ...R, 1969, SISTER MAURINA, THE MOTHER SUPERIOR OF THE SAINT ... HOME IN RIBEIRAO-PRETO, SAO PAULO STATE, WAS SUSPECT- PROTECTING ALLEGED STUDENT "TERRORISTS" OPPOSED TO THE PRES- ILITARY GOVERNMENT. DUR- HE 19 DAYS SHE WAS HELD MUNICADO, RUMORS BEGAN RCULATE THAT SHE WAS BE- ORTURED BY THE CITY'S TWO HIGHEST POLICE OFFICIALS. THEN, IN MID-NOVEMBER, THE METROPOLITAN ARCHBISHOP OF RIBEIRAO-PRETO, DOM FELICIO DA CUNHA VASCONCELOS, REPORTEDLY OBTAINED INCONTROVERTIBLE EVIDENCE THAT SISTER MAURINA HAD BEEN SUBJECTED TO ELECTRIC SHOCKS AMONG OTHER CRUELTIES. WITH THE SUPPORT OF SEVENTY DIOCESAN PRIESTS, THE ARCHBISHOP IMMEDIATELY AND PUBLICLY ORDERED THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF THE CITY'S POLICE CHIEF AND HIS ASSISTANT.

IT SEEMS INCREDIBLE THAT TORTURE SHOULD HAVE BEEN INFLICTED UPON A RELIGIOUS IN THE LARGEST (CONTINUED ON PAGE 135)

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NEWS & VIEWS

The Grape Strike

The grape strike has been going on for so long that it's acquired a perverse sort of normalcy. Like a non-fatal tumor, it's there, it's annoying, yet you live with it.

But one day the strike will be settled fully, and on the side of justice. When it is, a measure of credit will belong to the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. The settlement which the bishops' mediation committee helped arrange between the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee and three Coachella Valley grape-growers is the first real breakthrough in that four-year tension.

The three growers represent only one-eighth of the Coachella crop, and only about one percent of the California crop. But size isn't everything. Inland Steel is a relatively small producer, but its decisions turned around the 1962 steel crisis. The same thing could happen here. With luck, it will.

For the bishops, meanwhile, the Coachella Valley settlement stands as a quiet triumph. The grape strike is the kind of controversy that bishops as a body would ordinarily shun. This time they involved themselves and their institution. It was no mistake. Maybe, even, it will set a pattern. That's the sort of social work episcopal bodies should be about.

Stable Neighborhoods

No one, it seems, covers American specialty journals more industriously — and more interestingly — than *New Society* of London.

Several months ago, *New Society* dug out of the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* the delicious study of automobile stickers in public parking areas of Davidson County, Tennessee, during the last presidential campaign.

(The study found that 14 percent of autos bearing Nixon stickers, 14 percent bearing Humphrey stickers, and 19 percent advertising no candidate at all were without the compulsory county car tax disc. Of autos bearing the stickers of law-and-order candidate George Wallace, 26 percent lacked the tax disc!)

Now *New Society* has dipped into the *American Journal of Sociology* and come up with a study of the American neighborhood, which indicates that the racially mixed community, commonly characterized as unstable, is quite probably *more stable* than the all-white community.

The study, by Harvey Molotch, threatens to kick into a cocked hat a whole basketful of myths, beginning with the theory that housing integration entices speculators, who move into the local market, buy property which they milk and do not maintain, white residents being thereby forced out.

Molotch found that there was actually a low rate of apartment-building turnover in the racially mixed area, suggesting to him that the supposed process is not in fact occurring.

Similarly, Molotch found not a single instance of real estate agents' buying property and then selling to blacks at a premium.

And in both areas studied —the white neighborhood and the mixed one—the mobility-wish of residents was the same.

But, you say, his is only one study and one city. Which is true enough — except that the neighborhoods studied were in Chicago and the numbers involved were some 75,000.

If, in terms of the problems addressed, there's anything unrepresentative about Chicago or 75,000 persons, then we've all been reading the wrong history books.

The Press Scene

This month it's good-bye to *Interchange*, publication of the Division of Foreign Visitors of the U.S. Catholic Conference. It goes with the phasing out of the division.

In June, it will be goodbye to *Young Catholic Messenger, Junior Catholic Messenger* and *Our Little Messenger*, three long-time favorites with parochial school children.

Five years ago the *Messengers* had a combined circulation of 2.5 million. This year they are 1.4 million and falling. One of the big reasons, according to publisher George Pflaum: declining enrollments in Catholic schools throughout the U.S.

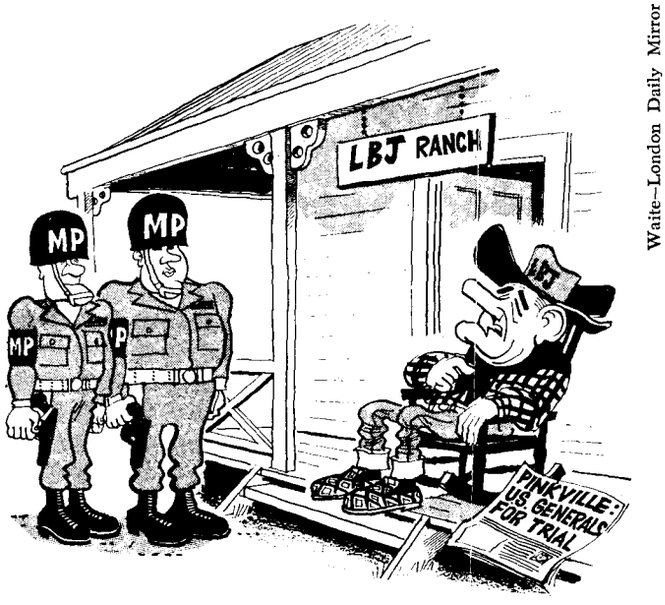
On the diocesan newspaper front, no new obituaries at the moment, but news of another sort.

Overview, the Chicago newsletter, reports a broadening of efforts to bring the diocesan paper under tighter chancery controls, citing Worcester (where the Priests' Senate has asked that a priest guide editorial policy) and Pittsburgh (where the shift seems to be back to a priest director).

Overview sees the moves as "new indicators that the layman's influence is being harnessed" in diocesan editorial offices.

Msgr. Francis J. Lally, editor of the Boston *Pilot*, was asked by the Worcester *Gazette* about the development. "It doesn't make sense at all," Lally commented. "There should be more laymen in the jobs. The day of the priest is gone."

Priest-editor, he means.



Waite—London Daily Mirror

"Who, Me?" Ben Roth Agency

Mr. Nixon as Pope

Boring and byzantine—that's Hans Morgenthau's evaluation of the 40,000-word Nixon statement on the state of the world.

"It resembles nothing so much as those lesser papal encyclicals which pronounce a series of unexceptional abstract principles, leaving practical judgment and action where they found them," Morgenthau wrote in the *New Republic*.

"There is, however, one difference," Morgenthau conceded. "The Pope quotes Scripture and the pronouncements of his predecessors in support of these principles; Mr. Nixon quotes himself 31 times directly, if my count is correct, and innumerable times by reference to a previous statement."

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Oberammergau . . . Nix

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: The Passion Play of Oberammergau is to be given again this year, May 18. Begun in 1633 as a vow taken by the Oberammergau peasants for being spared the plague, this play has been presented ever since, at ten-year intervals, by the village people themselves. Endorsed by Hitler, its text stands as an emotional and powerful catalyzer of anti-Semitic feelings.

Following a number of protests, both from Jewish and Catholic quarters, which kept reaching Cardinal Doepfner's office for many months, the 1970 text is labeled a revised version. Unfortunately, the changes are negligible. The numerous hate-breeding lines are still there. The Passion Play of Oberammergau should therefore be denounced by all Catholics, especially in the United States which sends so many tourists there. From all Catholic pulpits should come the warning that this is a vicious play, wholly contradicting the Statement on the Jews of Vatican II as well as the Guidelines of the American Bishops. Such a warning should have been issued long ago. However, there is still time for the hierarchy to act. As to the people who cannot cancel reservations already made, their only recourse, in order to avoid being implicated in this hate-propaganda, is to go to Oberammergau and become loud, protesting spectators.

CLAIRE HUCHET BISHOP

Patton's Pistols

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: It's a pity James Harvey flawed his intriguing review of the film "Patton" [Mar. 20] by nodding, evidently, during a key scene and referring therefore to the General's "pearl-handled (sic) revolvers."

Blood and guts! There is a vivid moment where Old Foulmouth informs a group of war correspondents that

(Continued on page 151)

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THE ABORTION DEBATE

At one stage in the passage of a New York bill permitting abortion upon agreement between a woman and her doctor, a liberal newspaper termed the measure a "triumph for humanity." Humanity being starved for triumphs these days, no doubt the standards are falling, and the hyperbole understandable. That some change in the law was inevitable, was indeed called for, given the change in public opinion on the matter; that such a change might justifiably be the sweeping one the New York legislature has adopted: all this one can reasonably argue, and still feel not a bit triumphant but only profoundly uneasy about the recent debate on abortion reform.

First, there is the matter of the law itself. Although we write about abortion out of a Catholic tradition, certain philosophical and biological considerations raise serious questions for us about the church's traditional position. We do not enjoy the certainty either of some fellow-Catholics or of many proponents of abortion reform. We have no prescription, no alternative "model law" to offer. Yet certain things seem clear. Narrowly restrictive bans on abortion no longer command general public support. Law should not be made by polls, but polls are relevant evidence; and most recent ones show high percentages even of Catholics in disagreement with the older abortion laws. Which may explain why no one, including the church, is striving to have these laws rigorously enforced. Moral convictions can be dealt a serious disservice by strenuous efforts to retain such unpopular laws on the books.

If the old legislation lacked public support, it is not clear, of course, that the public favored a law as sweeping as the ones it will soon be getting. Indeed, the polls indicate otherwise. Nevertheless, there are two strong arguments for the case that if abortion laws are not to be narrowly restrictive, they should be virtually non-restrictive; the "moderate," middle-ground seems to combine the worst of both worlds. On the one hand, "moderate" laws do not seem to remedy the ills—dangerous illegal abortions and discrimination between rich and poor—which abortion reform is meant to remedy. On the other hand, as Robert J. Drinan, S.J., argues effectively, they also grant the state the dangerous role of setting standards for deciding who will live and who will die. Whether the government can in fact be kept out of such a role, as Robert Drinan hopes, is surely arguable. Consider the recent problems of redefining "death" for transplant purposes and note the general growth of government involvement in all aspects of medical care.

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Still, Drinan's position suggests the *legal* merits of what took place at least in New York State.

What took place, however, was much more than a legal matter. Neither side in the abortion debate took the pains necessary to distinguish the legal question from the moral question as carefully as Father Drinan has done, or as we would like to do. Apart from the question of what the law *permits*, there remains the question of what the individual should do. Apart from the question of whether all, some or no abortions should be forbidden and punishable as crimes, there still remains the question of whether we as a society, with all the customs and institutions which the word society implies, want to encourage or discourage abortion as a general policy.

In one sense, these questions were ignored in the abortion debate. In another sense, these questions were being answered, implicitly, by the slogans and emotions which filled the air. In both cases, we are disturbed.

We are disturbed because the abortion question is only the curtain raiser for a long series of problems which medical and biological advances are going to raise about our control over human life. Much in the present debate suggests we are woefully unprepared to face these further problems.

To be specific: The abortion discussion has been plagued by "facts" which are not facts and facts which may be facts but no one really knows. That estimates, say, for the number of illegal abortions performed yearly in the U.S. range from 200,000 to 1,200,000 is not surprising, given the difficulty of "research"; but seldom do partisans put forward their particular choice of figures with any admission of fallibility.

To be specific: The abortion discussion has shifted rapidly from pleas that more abortions should be *permitted* by widening the categories of legal abortion, to the argument that the life of the fetus is nobody's business but the mother's; and already there is discussion of positive policies for encouraging and facilitating abortions. Many proponents of abortion reform switched from emphasis on tragic cases and the prevention of dangerous, illegal abortions to talk of abortion as simply another and more efficient means of birth control, or even as an important factor in overall population policy. The ease and speed of this shift, both on the part of proponents and the public, raises worries about what is next on the agenda of "life-control" measures; and whether there is, as some have maintained, any reservoir of conservatism about such matters which can keep us from sliding gracefully into a Brave New World.

To be specific: The abortion discussion is being framed in terms of slogans that are generally unexamined and, upon examination, prove totally unsatisfactory guides to the problems society is now encountering. We mean such phrases as "murder" on the one side, the "unwanted child" and "woman's right to her body" on the other side. From the notion that a fertilized ovum must be afforded the full protection granted to a human person—a notion understandably fitting to those trained to think in terms either of infused souls or "genetic packages" but just as understandably baffling to a great many people not so trained—we have in effect passed to the notion that the fetus should be considered (for 24 weeks at least, in the state of New York) as an organ of the mother. Legally, as we indicated, this fiction may be workable; it very neatly disposes of any claims a father might have over the life he has helped conceive. That it is a fiction seems undeniable. Yet there are many, who, while ridiculing the former notion, readily base their moral (and not just legal) evaluation of the fetus's status on the latter notion. There are many who speak of the fetus as "property" and indeed take a *laissez faire* attitude toward this "property" which they would probably reject in regard to property in general.

It must be said that the church bears a heavy responsibility for the primitive state of this discussion. By its failure to come to grips intellectually with the issue of birth control, by its political position toward birth control legislation, by its general insensitivity toward the question of "the sanctity of life" in issues like war and capital punishment, it has lost credibility with the public in general and even, it appears, with its own members.

The church's response to the change in abortion laws will be significant. Perhaps it could be path-breaking. It will have to demonstrate without the assistance of legal pressures its willingness to provide genuine alternatives for those mothers who are faced with the choice of abortion. That means promoting radically new attitudes toward adoption, toward support for child-care, toward the rights of working mothers, toward the use of birth control methods.

These are recommendations which, however, should not be directed only at the church. Abortion reform has been considered a "progressive" issue. Will those who consider themselves progressive give equal effort to exploring alternatives which might effectively enlarge the freedom of choice of women, which might better protect the sanctity of human life, and which might lead us closer to a humane society which cares for all its "unwanted," whether fetuses, children, the aged, the damaged, the unfortunate?

Liberals ought to notice the possibility that one of the reasons abortion reform is succeeding, as opposed to so many other "progressive" issues, may be its convergence with the very patterns in American culture which thoughtful liberals are questioning: the search for once-and-all, technological solutions, to name only one. Whatever decision is made on the permissibility of specific abortions, is society willing scrupulously to examine its principles and rearrange its institutions so as to place a high value on fetal life in general? If the answer is no, then the step just taken was backwards.

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ROME'S OPPORTUNITY

Many worthy issues have engaged the concern and emotions of Catholics in the years since the Council, but it is fair to say that only now, with emphasis converging on the revised Code of Canon Law and its prefatory section amounting to a kind of bill of rights, is the question of reform and renewal joined in the fullest of senses. For what is involved in the new *Lex Fundamentalis* is not merely discipline or practice or particular belief, but the whole package. The press speaks of the Code as a "constitution," and in the American vocabulary it is—a constitution for pope and people.

Unfortunately, information which has leaked about this constitution is not cause for great celebration. Definitions and reaffirmations, notably on church and authority, would firmly arrest developing concepts, including those rooted in the Council. Likewise, the rights which the document spells out for Catholics are left subsidiary to the prior right of ecclesiastical authority to restrict those rights by "invalidating or incapacitating laws." Operative, in a word, is what one source describes as the old triumphalistic juridicism.

But the day is far from lost. The document which is currently circulating beyond the intended select membership of the Pontifical Commission for the Revision of Canon Law is still in draft form and could not be made final before the commission meeting scheduled for next October, if indeed then. Much could happen between now and fall, and very likely much will. Officials of the Canon Law Society of America are already mounting an effort to head off the document as written, and so are prominent theologians elsewhere. Father Hans Küng, for one, is attacking the document as tantamount to "legalizing dogma," while at the same time challenging the propriety—and right—of a "small group in Rome" to decide secretly what will be binding law for the whole church.

For Rome, meanwhile, the matter comes down to two major choices. It can hold fast to the methods and logic of the draft texts, and risk a crisis in authority alongside which the crises over birth control and celibacy could seem mild. Or it could use the disclosure of the current Canon Law document as an opportunity to open up to the church at large discussions about a new constitution. The latter would be an exceedingly wise move. There is every reason in the world why the formulation of a church constitution should be public, and no reason—absolutely none—why it should be secret. More than that, Rome has everything to gain from a public procedure, maybe even a recouping of interest among so many whose tendency it is at the moment to turn the church off. If all could see that Rome is genuinely committed to a people-of-God partnership, the tomorrows could be a big improvement over the now for the church universally.

Labor's Political Kick – Still There?

A recent issue of the weekly newspaper of the St. Louis Labor Council devoted much of its front page to the visitation of Vice President Spiro Agnew to the annual fund-raising fete of the city's Republican party. The only thing which otherwise made noteworthy the banalities and vulgarities of the Agnew delivery was the Vice President's offer to "swap the whole damned zoo" of "uncivil disobedients" for a single platoon of young Americans in Vietnam.

Noting that an unusual representation of local AFL-CIO officials had sat down at the $100-a-plate affair, the *St. Louis Labor Tribune* commented that Agnew "was well received and it seemed that many Democrats (labor people) were impressed with his well-delivered talk." The labor types contributed more than $11,000 to the Republican effort, the paper added.

During the frustrating Spring and Summer of 1968 Gene McCarthy often complained of the "old labor buffaloes" whose presence within the machinery of the Democratic party precluded any real internal reform. They are still there, for the most part, and embittered about the events of that year which removed them from the stage-center of power. And while few of them might elect to demonstrate that they could be happy in the party of Nixon and Agnew, there may be cause for concern that labor might preside at a death watch for the coalition that has at least nominally held together the instruments of change in Congress for most of the last four decades.

Everyone is of course aware that the Democratic party is on hard times, looking not only for leadership and cash but something which it had always seemed to have cornered—issues. Inflation and pollution are on everyone's mind, yet the Administration has somehow unfurled the flag and sought to rally the critics—as long as they are around the President. This may be bad enough, but the Democrats seem to be playing the accommodation game in seeking to pursue only uncontroversial issues.

A stalemated and increasingly widening war in Southeast Asia, accelerating polarization among the races at home and an alarming increase in the call for both legal and extra-legal responses to dissent at home are priority issues and they are the crux of controversy. Yet the Democratic policy-makers have charted a course apparently directed to circumvent any discussion or positioning on these issues. And what better leadership for such a non-policy than Hubert Humphrey, the Presidential nominee who quoted St. Francis of Assisi while convention delegates and demonstrators alike were being worked over in the streets by police who ran riot (according to the findings of a Presidential Commission)?

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Old Politics Humphrey is still the old darling of the trade union politicos, and neither is yet anyone's fool. Despite the appearance of ineptitude in the eventual selection of Lawrence F. O'Brien as the new Democratic national chairman, the former Vice President is virtually assured to regain a seat in the Senate from Minnesota, his old stamping ground for a national forum. Those who smile at the seriousness of a Humphrey candidacy in 1972 are reminded that only ten years ago there was not a recognized political commentator in the country who thought that Richard Nixon was anything but an all-time loser.

Nor can the New Politics crowd dismiss the labor leaders as irrelevant. George Meany may offend them, but the facts of recent political warfare emphasize that it was a labor political machine which defused a crypto-fascist movement toward George Wallace in 1968 and which turned back the first Nixon bid for inadequacy on the Supreme Court in 1969 with the defeat of Clement Haynsworth in the Senate. So far, at least, labor has survived Richard Nixon with the most notable absence being the friendly calls and the invitations from the White House along with the payroller's trough. Coupled with a Humphrey in the Senate, it is reasonable to assume that a rerun of 1968 is being set up, outrageous though the suggestion may be to many in the party.

The fortunes of Hubert Humphrey and his labor friends are in many ways inextricably bound up with each other; their past shared glories still remain as the architecture for future strategies, however out of touch their critics may declare them to be with the realities of today. Irving Kristol recently suggested that the trade unions as institutions have "become that most dangerous of social phenomena: a boring topic," with a virtual absence of any serious scholarship toward them as contemporary apparatus for change and a contempt expressed by the young activists (and even malice: the social science journal *Transaction*, reporting on an attitude survey of returning black Vietnam veterans, found distrust of labor unions second only to the distrust of the police).

For despite the agonies of Chicago and the lessons of 1968, there is every reason to believe that a Humphrey-labor power-center might be one of the few viable ones within the party, given a continuation of the present vacuums due to an unassertive Congressional leadership and the political limbos or wanderings now shared by Senators McGovern, Kennedy and McCarthy. Maine's Senator Muskie again crops as the long-shot alternative, but few would call 1972 before the fortunes of this November are decided.

Meanwhile, there is little evidence to point toward reconciliation within the party. This year's elections for state and county committeemen in several states already suggest a counter-revolution against the McCarthy people who captured control of the party in various jurisdictions (and in some places such as Minnesota then sat on their incumbency and produced a sterile party), and the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection headed by McGovern found virtual non-cooperation among labor leaders in the Democratic apparatus.

The McGovern Commission found a predictable response to its hearings on party reform when one labor official declared it only a device "to give attention to those 'New Politics' nuts who helped lose the election for us." AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland, often mentioned as being groomed by Meany to become his heir-apparent, has outlined the no-compromise line on hard ideological terms, declaring that labor may have to "concentrate on doing our own thing better and go it alone until the fads and playtoys change and we again suffer the embrace of the 'liberal intellectual community.' "

The AFL-CIO will not wander "down dead-end streets" or pursue "barren diversions," Kirkland continued, despite the state of disarray that is liberalism and the Democratic party. Acknowledging the need for unity of progressives, he remains apprehensive: "With the emergence of bug-out liberals, anti-labor liberals, anti-Semitic liberals and elite liberals—it is becoming more and more difficult to tell who really belongs on which team." One may conjecture that Kirkland's bug-outs and elites are Agnew's misfits and effetes, but the message is pointedly clear: the party was in power before the dissidents raised questions and talked issues; now it is out of power so do not expect labor to participate in remaking the party in the image of the "bug-outs."

John Corry's recent essay on George Meany in *Harper's* was a charitable yet penetrating assessment of the AFL-CIO chieftain, and the condition of Meany, is—like it or not—in many ways the current condition of labor. "The pity of it," Corry concludes, is that while labor might be "suffering from atrophy . . . it may still be one of the best things around."

JOE HILL

(Joe Hill is the pseudonym of a writer specializing in labor affairs.)

COMING

SAUL MALOFF writes in the Spring Book Issue about Leonard Woolf's autobiography:

"The subject, naturally, was the vicissitudes of a career and a sensibility at a particular time and place. Unlike some of the celebrated autobiographies (say Mill's or Gosse's or Rousseau's), the evolution of sensibility in Woolf's is not itself the issue. The completed self is there from the beginning, taken for granted, as his intelligence is: intelligence and sensibility are the qualities he writes out of, the sources of his authority; they inform the style, the things seen by it and the depth at which they are seen."

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TORTURE IN BRAZIL

American public opinion, the Christian churches, and the academic community have a special responsibility to protest.

Ralph della Cava

(Continued from front cover) Catholic country in the world, under a regime which forcibly seized power six years ago this month for the expressed purpose of returning a "corrupt" and "Red-menaced" nation to the "Christian and democratic traditions of the West." However, widespread and systematic use of torture by all levels of the government is the single and most significant *new* development in the worsening internal political crisis of Brazil. Indeed, torture has become today the handmaiden of oppression in the desperate effort of the Brazilian military to extinguish the remaining vestiges of opposition to their almost total control of the polity and society.

For several months now unimpeachable documentary evidence regarding numerous cases of torture has been available in Western Europe. In November, 1969, the Brussels-based International Association of Democratic Jurists issued a report, entitled *Brazil '69: Torture and Repression.* Although the publication was largely devoted to an analysis of how the new, loosely defined National Security Law (decreed in Sept., 1969) transforms almost any act of opposition to the present government into a crime against Brazil's "national security," it also reproduced several important documents and letters containing the names of about a hundred students, professionals and clergymen and a brief description of the tortures inflicted upon each.

Further reports of torture have been issued from Algiers by the "Brazilian Information Front," a clandestine group of Brazilian Marxists and Christians. If the anonymous character of these documents poses a problem of credibility for some readers, unassailable authenticity is the hall mark of the most widely publicized dossier on torture that was submitted to the Holy Father at the end of 1969 and endorsed for its reliability by sixty of Europe's prominent intellectuals and religious leaders. Given credence throughout France, Belgium and Italy, the dossier was published in the December issue of the Paris monthly, *Croissance des Jeunes Nations.* Entitled "Livre Noir: Terreur et Torture au Brésil," the dossier contains eleven separate documents. Two concern the cold-blooded murder in May, 1969, of Fr. Antonio Henrique Pereira Neto, a Northeastern priest working among university students, by army-condoned, right-wing terrorists; another is the public protest issued last July by 38 priests from Belo Horizonte against "the physical and moral outrages" continuously committed against imprisoned priests and laymen since December, 1968; other documents recount the tortures inflicted upon students, peasant leaders and a Belgian missionary priest summarily deported last August.

Three documents bear the signature of Recife's celebrated Archbishop, Dom Helder Câmara. In Rome last January 26, the outspoken prelate was received attentively at the Vatican's portals by Pope Paul VI who exclaimed in public to the Brazilian: "We have read the documentation you have sent Us concerning torture in Brazil. Thus, everything you told Us was true! The Church must know how to make its own the ire of the poor and non-violent, the revolt against injustice. The Church will tolerate no longer the commission of atrocities and tortures in a country that calls itself Christian."

Despite the Pope's indignation (transmitted in a dispatch from Maurice Cardinal Roy, head of the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace, to Brazilian authori-

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ties who banned its publication), "the situation in Brazil today is considerably more serious than that observed in Greece last year." That opinion, made public at a Paris press conference on March 6th last by a spokesman from the International Federation of the Rights of Man and three other international legal and civil rights entities, is included in the third and most recent report on the Brazilian crisis (see *Le Monde,* March 8-9, 1970). The report is the result of a week-long mission conducted in Brazil by two French lawyers. Torture, they write, "has become systematic and universal." They suggest moreover, that avowals of the Minister of Justice to investigate any case of torture brought to his attention have been made hollow by the recent decree (issued February 11, 1970) governing "the censorship of licentious publications." The decree, purportedly aimed at curbing pornography, has effectively intimidated the remaining critical press from engaging in a new campaign against torture. Military authorities had silenced a previous campaign carried on in early December, 1969, by, among other means, arresting and jailing outspoken journalists.

II. Torturers & Tortured

From these three public sources now available, it is possible at this moment to take preliminary stock of some of the more important factors bearing on the employment of torture.

First of all, it is important to ask just when and how torture became widely employed as an instrument of repression. Most observers are inclined to date this phenomenon from about December, 1968. That month, "hard-line" officers within the Brazilian army pulled off a successful "coup within a coup." The late President, Army marshal Arthur Costa e Silva, was forced to close down the Federal Congress, while the executive branch was again empowered to deprive at will any political opponent of his political rights for ten years.

The victory of the "hard-liners," advocates since the 1964 coup of abolishing *all* democratic pretenses and handing the country over to outright military rule, went far deeper, however, than most observers then perceived. Today, it is clear that their victory has severely curtailed the influence of the few remaining moderates and "soft-liners" within the armed services. Moreover, the succession of arbitrary laws enacted with impunity after the December 13, 1968 shutting-down of Congress along with the decree of a new constitution in October, 1969, has granted the military rulers virtually unlimited power. For these reasons, most former restraints on the use of torture have all but completely disappeared.

Some may wish to trace the sanctioning of torture to the existence and proliferation of sporadic rightist terrorism prior to December, 1968. Indeed, groups of local and national scope, such as the Communist-Hunting Command, the Death Squadron, and Operation Bandeirante, came into existence over the past three years with, it is widely believed, the complicity of "hard-line" military authorities. Membership in these vigilante groups continues to draw heavily upon local police officials (the two torturers of Sister Maurina, for example, are members of Operation Bandeirante) and upon civilian elements who share a kind of "populist" resentment against middle-class politicians whether "liberal" or "radical." But, the emergence of the rightist terrorist groups was not spontaneous. Indeed, they seem to have swung into action as surrogates for the "hard-line" officers precisely at that moment in mid-year, 1968, when popular aspirations had found greater public expression under the liberalizing policies of deposed President Costa e Silva. Now that the "hard-line" itself is victorious, the right-wing terrorists will probably be restrained (although their organizations not completely dismantled), while the purge of all opposition forces can now proceed with the sanction of the "law" *within* the very barracks and encampments of the armed forces.

A second consideration concerns the victims of torture. There is no exact number, but it would probably not be an exaggeration to state that more than 500 persons were tortured during 1969. (This estimate is most likely low since following the release of kidnapped U.S. Ambassador C. Burke Elbrick last September, over 5000 persons—2000 in Rio alone—had been rounded up and held prisoners for varying lengths of time.) Among the tortured are men and women, whose average age—which the French investigating mission calculated this March from among the more than 10,000 persons still imprisoned—is 22 years!

Obviously, university students and, in recent months, significant numbers of high school students are the chief victims. Most are of affluent, middle-class backgrounds and as a group they comprise the one social category whose democratic efforts to secure civil liberties and promote a free public debate on national issues have been repeatedly met with utter violence. Since the 1964 coup, the army has forcibly prevented students from reconstituting the National Union of Students. During the first half of 1968, thousands of students were jailed after spontaneous street marches to 'end the dictatorship' in several cities proved to have the overwhelming support of the populace. Police repression was so severe in June 1968 that the month is today remembered as "Bloody June." Finally, in April, 1969, almost a hundred professors at the universities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, the last remaining public defenders of the students, were forced into "voluntary retirement." In a word, the regime has boxed students into the one option left to them: namely, to regroup as a clandestine movement.

The very prospect that young people may have no

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recourse but to spend the rest of their lives under a Brazilian variant of "Salazarist democracy" has also compelled some students to join one of a half-dozen guerrilla groups. These arose in response to government repression and rightist terrorism which, in turn, have convinced the guerrillas that "institutionalized violence," imposed by the military, can only be met by armed struggle. Even so, the sensational kidnappings of a U.S. and Japanese diplomat (in September, 1969, and March, 1970, respectively), the most successful guerrilla activities to date, did not have counter-violence as a chief aim. To the contrary, the guerrillas' main goals were first to free their brethren from imprisonment and the brutality of the torturer's chamber and, second, to force the regime to publicize in a rigidly censored press information about political torture and prisoners for a public that can only conjecture about the worsening national condition.

With the student movement and universities in shambles, it is no wonder that reprisals against students have been merciless. The brutal death last November of the 23-year-old São Paulo medical student, Chael Charles Schreier, was attributed to severe internal hemorrhaging clearly the consequence of violent beatings inflicted during the few hours he was held in custody by the Army Police at the *Vila Militar* in Rio de Janeiro. The death of Schreier, a member of the guerrilla *Vanguarda Armada Revolucionária-Grupo Palmares* and a Jew, has convinced Brazilians of the army's direct role as torturer, while it also suggested in some circles the possible revival of anti-Semitism within the Brazilian armed forces.

Clergymen, mostly Roman Catholics, have been the second largest target of oppression and torture. Those who have exercised an apostolate in university student circles and are thus usually more progressive—and suspect—were ready targets from the outset. Next in line were those priests and nuns who—whether they concurred or not with aims sought by some student guerrillas—felt compelled by Christian charity and justice to offer sanctuary and protection from arrest and imprisonment. Finally there were those churchmen, especially those of the Dominican and Jesuit orders, who as Brazilian intellectuals were considered to be hostile to the authoritarianism of the military rulers.

In moving against the clergy, the military has made no distinction between foreigners and nationals. During 1969, suspected Belgian, French, and American missionaries were arrested, some tortured, almost all deported. Nationals may even be less fortunate than their foreign confreres whose anguished cries have at last been heard on the other side of the Atlantic.

Neither has the military distinguished between low and high clergy. In late 1968 and early 1969, a typical assault on Dom Helder's archdiocesan residence consisted of machine-gun bursts and hostile grafitti. Since the latter part of 1969, the assaults have become more direct and menacing, precisely because they are "legal." A case in point involves Dom Waldyr Calheiros, the 46-year-old bishop of Volta Redonda, Brazil's steelmill city; he and eleven of his priests issued a letter in July, 1969, accusing a local army unit of torturing a trade union leader of the diocese. The army held a hearing, denied the charge and condemned Dom Waldyr as an agitator! On December 4, 1969, a military court indicted the bishop and fifteen of his priests on the charge of subversion. Their trial is now pending.

The Roman Catholic church, of course, is the last remaining corporate structure capable of defying the government. Like the military, it is organized on a nationwide level, enjoys some degree of esprit de corps and, since Vatican Council II, is accustomed to speaking via its National Council of Bishops to the nation on national issues. Its ideological cleavages are profound, but inasmuch as the positions of the more liberal spokesmen have been legitimated by Vatican Council II and the 1968 Medellin Conference of the Latin American Episcopal Council, the views of the more conservative and pro-military ecclesiastics have been generally subdued.

For some of these reasons, it is likely that the military will exercise caution in its efforts to silence the liberal

Following are excerpts from a document of the "Brazilian Information Front." The original cites torturers by name.

The prisoners . . . were sent to Guanabara (First Company of the Army—Military Police) on August 18, 1969. . . . After being beaten they were thrown into two tiled cells . . . 2 x 2 meters in area where they remained naked for 74 days without the minimum conditions of hygiene. . . .

The first two nights after their arrival, the prisoners were not allowed to sleep, were made to stand for 96 hours and from time to time were squirted all over with a hose of cold water. On two occasions bombs of tear gas were thrown into their cell and they nearly died of suffocation. . . .

In September, 1969, *Murilo Pinto da Silva* was tortured at the PE with electric shocks, beaten with a wooden rod, punched and kicked for four hours without interruption.

Pedro Paulo Bretas—hung by the *pau de arara*, beaten with a rod, given electric shocks, had his fingers squeezed for two days and two nights by small iron bars 20 cm. in length.

Angelo Pezzuti da Silva—given electric shocks and beaten with a wooden rod. At a certain point he was unable to bear the torture any longer and flung himself against the windowpane in the room; he cut himself in several places and fainted. He was

(Continued on next page)

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wing of the church. Not a few officers who view with favor the existence of a substantial conservative majority among Brazil's 250 bishops argue it is still possible to woo the church to their own side. At the very least they would shy away from directly attacking the institutional character of the church for fear of losing conservative episcopal support. Furthermore, Brazil's diplomatic ties to the Vatican and the common interest of each in such issues as the continuation of Catholic religious education in Brazil's public schools, and the legal proscription against divorce in Brazil, may well outweigh the strong personal friendship between Paul VI and liberal champion, Dom Helder Câmara. Progressive prelates and "hard-line" officers alike are looking forward to the Pope's pending visit to Brasília in May 1970 for the Eighth National Eucharistic Congress. How this visit will enter into the three-way power-play of generals, bishops and the papacy, is still a matter for speculation.

A third category comprises the intellectuals—the publishers, writers and professors, the lawyers and journalists who had managed to escape the punitive waves of 1964 and 1966-67 when the military "legally" deprived many citizens of their political rights for ten years or forced many others into exile. Now, however, some leading publishers such as Enio Silveira, director of Brazil's major publishing house, *Editôra Civilização Brasileira,* have been brought to the brink of bankruptcy by government confiscation of "subversive" literature after it reaches the bookstores. Leading writers such as Antonio Callado and university professors by the hundreds live under constant threat of investigation, military trials, firings and physical outrage. Terror silences even those who have dared to remain at home.

Journalists and lawyers, however, have recently begun to bear the brunt of repression. Publicists and defenders of torture victims, they have themselves become victims. It is true that three journalists charged with crimes against national security for publicizing cases of torture were acquitted at the end of March. But, harassment from legal procedures will serve to reduce the number of ready advocates among the Brazilian fourth estate. The plight of lawyers has been a matter of international record since November, 1969.

Workers and peasants would rightly be expected to comprise the last category of victims. Except for some instances, this has not been the case. The reasons are quite obvious. Peasant organizations, confined primarily to the Northeast, had been led by middle- and upper-class politicians. Their exile or imprisonment (after the army seized power in 1964) resulted in the immediate collapse of scattered and none too numerous rural affiliates. Some genuine peasant leaders who survived (primarily among the less political, Catholic-sponsored Rural Syndicates) were either unobtrusively assassinated, politically neutralized or patriarchially coopted into the already existing system.

Similarly for workers, repression began six years ago and with a vengeance unknown in the rural areas. For union officials audacious enough to have advocated labor radicalism during the Goulart presidency, arrest, imprisonment, torture, execution and exile came on the heels of the 1964 military coup. Moreover, military "interventors" were appointed as overseers in over 2000 of the country's most powerful industrial unions, while the American Institute of Free Labor Development (an A F of L operation financed partly by America's largest corporation with Latin American holdings) and representatives of the ORIT (a pro-American regional trade union confederation in Latin America) virtually took over the indoctrination of the Brazilian rank and file. This control of labor by the army and foreigners as well as recent legislation banning strikes may explain why the defense of labor's rights has frequently fallen to the churchmen in many of Brazil's largest industrial centers such as Santo André (automobiles) and Volta Redonda (steel). But, as the case of Dom Waldyr indicates, there are dire consequences for workers and their defenders who choose to speak out.

Any attempt to calculate just how many torture victims there have been will depend on how the observer defines torture. Father Jean Talpe of the diocese of

(Continued from previous page)
taken to the Military Hospital at the vila where he received stitches on his back and arm. His admittance to the hospital was noted on the register there.

Afonso Celso Lara Leite—given electric shocks, punches and *telephones* during several hours by Sgt. A, who continued to administer the electric shocks even after the interrogation was over in order to observe the interesting contractions which the shocks produced on Afonso Celso's body.

Julio Antonio Betancourt de Almeida—was hung from the *pau de arara*, given electric shocks, *telephones*, beaten with a rod and had a truncheon forced up his anus.

On October 8, a class was held at the PE for a group of about 100 members of the three armed forces, the majority with the rank of sergeant, to give instructions on interrogations. Before starting, Mauricio was given electric shocks *to see if the apparatus was working well*, as Corpl. M. said. . . . While slides [were projected] to explain the type of torture, its characteristics and effects, [six officials] tortured the prisoners in front of the members of the class, as a live demonstration of the various methods of tortures employed. Mauricio was given electric shocks. . . . Zézinho was hung from the *pau de arara*. . . . Nilo Sérgio was made to hold weights with his arms stretched out. . . .

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Bruges, Belgium, who lived four years in Brazil and in January, 1969, was arrested, jailed for six months, tortured and deported, indirectly suggested this issue in an interview he gave upon his release last August to the Belgian Catholic Press Service:

> A friend of mine, a professor at the university, was hung naked head down and in this position was worked over for hours with clubs and electric shocks to the most sensitive parts of the body. A young lady whom he didn't know was forced to witness this 'spectacle' and shortly thereafter, in his presence, was dealt with in exactly the same shameful way.

What if the young lady had not been stripped, hung and beaten but been made only to observe the fate of the professor as has indeed been the lot of countless relatives and friends of actual victims? Who, it might be asked, has been tortured? Where the safety of friends and loved ones is suddenly made to hang in the balance, has not the torturing of one victim served to strike terror into the hearts of the others? Where society rather than a single onlooker is made to witness the regime's brutality, is it not then the purpose of the torturer to enslave society in fear?

III. Instrument of National Policy

From all available evidence, torture in Brazil is today an instrument of national policy whose purpose is not to seek information about "subversives," but to bring to heel all and any opposition to the present rule of the armed forces. First of all, the techniques of torture are no longer limited to beatings, pistol whippings, clubbings and the spontaneous violences of individual police anger and sadism. They are increasingly more sophisticated and complicated and, as such, require both considerable personnel and organization for their implementation. Here is a brief description, based on a variety of documents from all parts of Brazil, of the three most common tortures:

1. *pau de arara* (parrot's perch): the victim is handcuffed and his arms placed over his legs which are bent up close to the chest. A long pole is inserted in the cavity formed between his knee and arms. The pole is raised horizontally above the ground and thus the victim, usually naked, hangs head down. In this position, he can be beaten, clubbed, subjected to electric shocks or "hydraulics" (water poured down his nostrils) and other cruelties.
2. *mesa de operação* (the operating table): the victim is strapped to an iron table equipped with a gadget that stretches the body; a surgical probe is used to scrape the ribs.
3. *choques elétricos* (electric shocks): the victim is usually forced to strip before wires are attached to the most sensitive parts of the body and even inserted into the orifices. Electric current is discharged from an apparatus that is most usually described as a manually-cranked, box-like generator, not unlike a field telephone.

Second, identical tortures are employed in different parts of the country, though the greatest similarity is found in the famous southeastern triangle of Guanabara (Rio de Janeiro), São Paulo and Minas Gerais, the most developed states in Brazil and centers of greatest criticism against the regime.

Third, the three branches of the armed services (army, navy and air force) appear to have played an increasingly larger role coordinating and supervising the torturing of political prisoners. Those tasks usually fell and continue partly to fall upon local and state police agents especially trained in "criminal investigation" and "intelligence work." These indeed still appear to be the actual torturers. However, innumerable documents confirm that several dozen officers from the three branches of the armed forces (but especially the army) are directly in charge of torture activities in such important sites as the Linhares Penitentiary in Belo Horizonte, the Ilha das Flores prison and the Vila Militar, both in Rio de Janeiro.

Moreover, there is evidence that the three services have jointly conducted formal courses in "interrogation" for their junior officers. In one such class held on October 8, 1969, at the State Police headquarters in Belo Horizonte, an army lieutenant showed slides of torturings and lectured the assembly about each type of torture, its characteristics and its effects. Moments before, ten male political prisoners had been marched into the classroom and forced to strip. One by one, they were tortured by corporals and privates in a "live" demonstration before the almost 100 officer-students in attendance.

What are the prospects that the present government will put an end to the use of torture and terror as an instrument of state policy (to say nothing of restoring elections, political parties, freedom of the press, speech, assembly and 'habeas corpus')? When General Emílio G. Médici, a compromise candidate and the third general to rule Brazil since 1964, assumed power in October, 1969, ten months after the internal coup against Costa e Silva, he made a number of promises, chief among them that by the end of his administration in 1974, he intended "to leave democracy definitely installed in our country, as well as fixed bases for our social and economic development."

Less than six months had passed when Médici's "democratic vision" was, under the relentless pressure of "hard-line" officers, cast aside by the proclamation of the "revolutionary state." On March 10, 1970, the general took to the air waves and explained to his fellow Brazilians that the "revolutionary state" signified the decision of the military dictatorship, now in posses-

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Correio da Manha

sion of unlimited discretionary powers, to continue in office for "as long as it takes" to remake Brazil according to its own lights.

It does not appear that torture and terror will end soon. The methods and techniques of torture, as shown earlier, have already been "rationalized" and legitimated into the military structure. Moreover, the newly proclaimed "revolutionary state," resting firmly on such arbitrary legal instruments as the Constitution of 1969 and the censorship laws of February, 1970, allows the victims of torture almost no recourse before the law (unlike Greece where victims seem recently to have obtained judicial redress).

Finally, there is a more cogent argument why terror will likely remain the order of the day and why Brazil may embark upon the path already traveled by Spain and Portugal, Italy and Germany in another era. It is simply that those who are now in power have accomplished their ascent by the unbridled use of violence against civilians and dissident fellow officers alike. The regime is thus obliged to defend its monopoly of power by continued violence; in doing so, it has created the conditions by which counter-violence may eventually become the only effective recourse available to the oppressed. In sum, unless "soft-line" officers can somehow come to exert in the future a more liberalizing influence on policy than they have since December, 1968, the present regime's political course can only lead to increasingly violent antagonisms within Brazilian society.

In view of the wide-scale tortures and the increasingly fascist militarization of Brazil, what explains the official silence of the United States government? Had any of the incidents alluded to here occurred in Castro's Cuba or some Eastern European nation, Washington would have long ago condemned the outrage. Its silence is a resounding reaffirmation of its policy of complicity in regard to Brazil.

Lincoln Gordon, now president of Johns Hopkins University, was the architect of that policy. As U.S. ambassador at the time of the military coup of 1964, Professor Gordon persuaded the Johnson Administration to recognize the new regime "within 24 hours, even though the regime's policies were largely unknown." Then, as the military junta proceeded to purge the universities, the student movement, the trade unions, the press, congress and government ministries as well as deny three ex-presidents and hundreds of other citizens their political rights for ten years, Dr. Gordon did not once raise his voice in protest. It was his view that the military coup might well be considered ". . . the single most decisive victory for freedom in the mid-20th century." Thereupon, massive quantities of U.S. aid, loans and investments were bestowed upon the victors.

The Gordon precedent appeared so well established that Governor Nelson Rockefeller returned from his tour of Brazil in June, 1969 (one month after the assassination of Father Henrique Neto) without condemning a single act of violence perpetrated over the previous five years by the military regime. In fact, he was so favorably impressed with the generals, he recommended that commercial arms sales be increased to all Latin American countries and that unqualified support be given to programs aimed at curbing "internal subversion."

IV. The U.S. and Public Opinion

In view of recent events in Brazil, the Rockefeller recommendation raises the question whether the U.S. Government has not been directly involved in Brazil's internal affairs and whether it is not now engaged in the Brazilian armed forces' "counter-insurgency" activities? Until three weeks ago, these questions had not come to the attention of the American public. But a *Washington Post* editorial against "Oppression in Brazil" on February 28 has resulted in significant disclosures. At first, the Brazilian ambassador in the capital deplored the *Post*'s suggestion that "the United States should abandon its continued and close relations with Brazil," while Dean Acheson argued in a separate letter that a nation's internal policies, even if dictatorial, did not make her "any less a true and loyal ally."

Acheson's March 3 letter, in which he also urged the U.S. to continue to support such "allies, neighbors and friends [as] Greece, Haiti, Brazil, Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia . . .," was followed ten days later by one of the most revealing indictments of U. S. policy in Brazil. Its author is Richard S. Winslow, Jr., a Foreign Service Reserve Officer with the Agency for International Development whose expenditures in Brazil for "economic development" rose from $15.1 million in 1964 (the year of the coup) to an estimated $187 million in

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1970. Winslow, however, suggests that AID funds may not be going for "economic development," but "to increase the efficiency of [Brazil's] oppressive police force . . .":

> ". . . during fiscal year 1970, the State Department's Agency for International Development is spending $451,000 on its 'public safety' program in Brazil; $292,000 is now paying for 13 U.S. police specialists residing in Brazil and helping to train thousands of Brazilian police in 'criminal investigations,' 'counter-insurgency,' and the use of the most modern police equipment. AID boasts that in fiscal year 1968, 16,000 Brazilian police were trained under this program, with the number increasing each successive year. Another $129,000 is being spent this year to bring 58 police officials to the United States for an average of four months training in the latest police techniques."

Of the many implications contained in Winslow's letter, the most obvious is that Washington's silence is a matter of fundamental policy. Its refusal to condemn torture, terror and repression does not stem, as Acheson would have us believe, from the necessity to tolerate the "peccadillos" of a "true and loyal ally." Rather, such a rebuke would be *ipso facto* a self-condemnation of Washington's Brazil policy.

Since governments are clearly not in the business of condemning themselves, what of public opinion? The Europeans (and recently the Chileans) have raised a public hue and cry. But the Americans have not. The Brazilian tragedy has not touched their conscience. Yet public opinion will have an effect not in Paris, Rome or Santiago—capitals to which the Brazilian regime pays scant heed—but in Washington.

Accordingly, it might be well here to delineate areas of immediate concern to three sectors of American public opinion whose interests are linked to Brazil's destiny; namely, the press, the churches and the academic community.

The American press should break its editorial silence about torture in Brazil. The Brazilian regime tends to be more sensitive to the *New York Times*' criticisms than to *Le Monde*'s. The American press should also give more attention to the arrest and imprisonment of journalists and to the imposition, since February, of censorship. Finally, the implications in Winslow's letter to the *Post* should be relentlessly pursued: were any of the 16,000 Brazilian police agents trained by AID in "counter-insurgency" in 1968 responsible for the massive repression of 1969? Have any of the 13 U.S. "police specialists" now residing in Brazil taken part in torturing Brazilian political prisoners? Lastly, is there any real danger that over-all U.S. policies in Brazil might involve the nation in a Latin American "Indochina"?

A greater moral duty belongs to the Christian churches, Brazil being at once the largest Catholic nation in the world and the largest Protestant nation in Latin America. Moreover, countless numbers of laymen and clergy, primarily but not exclusively Catholic, have been victimized, and in several cases, murdered. Surprisingly, the Brazilian Catholic church, once a mainstay of the status quo, has emerged for a variety of reasons as the only national institution that remains capable of defending the principles of freedom, justice and social change in the face of government repression. Yet, neither the U.S. Catholic Conference nor the National Council of Churches has really called its flock's attention to the crisis facing the Brazilian churches (and, in an ecumenical spirit, to the potential rise of anti-Semitism towards Brazil's 150,000 Jews). Today, it is urgent that the Considines and Cushings, the MacKays and Rembaos call once again for a crusade of "40,000 missionaries." Send them forth not to evangelize Brazil, but rather to make known in Washington their dissent from the government's policy of complicity.

Finally, the academic community, including students but above all teachers and scholars of Latin America, must throw off its narrowly professional timidity in approaching the Brazilian tragedy. The scholarly community acted with honor when it spoke up in April 1969 against the firing of almost a hundred Brazilian professors and more recently on behalf of a well-known historian. But, as scholars of Brazil, the academic community knows full well that labor, student, religious and many other sectors of society have been purged, often most severely, for *six consecutive years*. The April, 1970, meeting of the nation-wide, interdisciplinary Latin American Studies Association in Washington affords those who genuinely *know* the facts of the Brazilian tragedy a chance to call them to the attention of the nation at large.

Just a decade ago, the Brazilian people were buoyant with hope and optimism about their future. Now, in the tightening grip of tyranny, the nation is being mercilessly divided into two camps. Shall Brazil be plunged into a full-scale civil war? It is highly unlikely in the immediate future; indeed, may she be spared such a fate. But, if it should come to that, where will American public opinion stand? Where will Washington? Can we look forward to a new Vietnam on an incalculably larger scale? The answers may soon be forthcoming.

In February 1970, a group of writers, scholars, religious leaders and other friends of Brazil met in New York City and founded the American Committee for Information on Brazil. The Committee has just published a documentary dossier about the present crisis, entitled *Terror in Brazil*. Free copies are available from: American Committee for Information on Brazil, Post Office Box 1091, New York, N.Y. 10027.

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GAMES CORPORATIONS PLAY

Yes, Virginia, there is a military-industrial complex

STEVEN V. ROBERTS

A visit to a large aerospace firm can be a very unsettling experience. I recently spent several days at the Boeing Company in Seattle—a card-carrying member of the military-industrial complex—and I came away with a number of troublesome impressions.

The first is that we really have been sold the Big Lie on the arms race. There they are in full-color brochures —rockets, missiles, bombers—all of them junk. Billions and billions of dollars to make them and *they will never be used.* If they ever are, we'll all be dead. Seeing all those acronyms come to life, all those news pictures and stories you never read, shocks you into realizing the monstrosity of it all. There really are Merchants of Death! They make Dr. Strangelove look like a piker—only they don't talk in funny accents and come on like demented maniacs. They're average, tweedy, home-loving, boat-sailing guys, and they sell death for a living. They could just as easily be selling soap powder (with phosphates that pollute water).

The second impression is of tremendous lassitude and waste. Boeing is known in Seattle as "The Lazy B" and you can see why. The government (actually, only one-third of Boeing's business is for the government, although some firms reach 90 percent) will tolerate sloppiness that no commercial client would ever accept. Costs run over? Mendel Rivers will get you the dough. One woman I talked to said she would never buy Boeing stock after working there. Her views echoed discussions I had last summer with workers dropped by McDonnell-Douglas after the Defense Department canceled the Manned Orbital Laboratory program. "As a taxpayer," several people told me, "I was outraged at the waste in the program." Rigid security required high-trained personnel to spend up to 75 percent of their time filling out various forms. Moreover, security prevented any contact between people working on MOL, an Air Force project, and a similar project presided over by NASA. Two groups, working on the same problems, with the public footing both bills—just so the Air Force could soothe its pride and stay in the space business.

The third, and probably the most important impression, is that we have created a Frankenstein in the aerospace industry. And all this talk about "redirecting priorities" will be far more difficult than it sounds—maybe impossible.

The aerospace industry consists of huge complexes employing millions of workers. We have created a vested interest in the arms race and space exploration that is no less powerful or devilish than our vested interest in Vietnam. We have made commitments and now we can't get out of them. Indeed, Vietnam is probably an easier problem. We can load up our troops and get out, and all we would lose is face. But how can we pull Boeing out of Seattle? Or any one of dozens of firms out of Southern California? I recently heard a radio report quoting a Senator about the financial troubles of Lockheed, which now wants $600 million from the government to stay solvent. "It's like having a dinosaur in your backyard that demands enormous quantities of food," the Senator said. "When you threaten not to feed him, he says, 'What are you going to do with a dead dinosaur in your backyard?' "

One is tempted to say "bury it," but obviously that is not a feasible alternative. For one thing, it is not just a few corporate executives (many of them ex-military officers) who profit from the bloated defense budget. Cutbacks in military spending have a sharp and immediate impact on a huge chunk of the work force. Boeing's commercial aircraft business has been dropping and it was counting on military contracts to pick up the slack. But with appropriations delayed, the company has had to lay off 33,000 workers in the Seattle area alone in the last 18 months. The whole area is headed toward recession. Automobile dealers are closing, housing starts are plummeting. The unemployment rate is pushing 6 percent, and some economists think it will reach 8 percent.

These very real human problems only add force to the arguments of politicians and military men who have their own reasons for maintaining the level of defense spending. (I keep thinking of a sign that appeared in a dormitory at West Point when Vietnam started heating up: "War is our business and business is good.") The fact remains that those hunks of hardware in those glossy brochures are pillars of the national economy. Without them the whole edifice could crumble.

How the interests of the workers coincide with those of the politicians and the generals is illustrated by the SuperSonic Transport (SST). Officials give two basic

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rationales for pushing ahead with an incredibly stupid project that will pollute the air with more noise for the insignificant gain of two hours of flying time across the Atlantic. First is national prestige. The British and French have teamed up to build one version of the SST, Russia is building another. Therefore, we *have* to have one. The second is the balance of payments problem. If we have to buy SST's abroad, it is argued, our gold outflow will increase. (Of course we could better afford that outflow if we weren't spending so much on the military in Vietnam, Europe and elsewhere—that is, if we want SST's at all.) So President Nixon, under the prodding of Senator Henry Jackson (known in Seattle as "the Senator from Boeing") and others, has approved the SST. For in addition to enhancing prestige and stemming the gold drain, the SST would also provide thousands of jobs all over the country. Without it, many of those men would be out of work. The dinosaur—and engineers—must be fed.

Or take the B-1, the huge new bomber now being planned by the Pentagon. Now we need a new bomber as much as an outbreak of bubonic plague. But Boeing is counting heavily on the B-1 to get it out of the red. And recently 100 small areospace contractors in Southern California bought a full-page ad in the *Los Angeles Times* begging the Defense Department to give the contract to a California company. Otherwise, they said, they face annihilation.

What is the answer? One obvious one is diversification. The huge factories which dot the California landscape could build mass transit systems as easily as they build rockets. But here the companies are playing a pretty cagey game. If they did diversify, then the pressure to increase military spending would be reduced. Thus they are in no hurry. When I asked an official at Boeing why the company did not diversify, he answered with a look of consummate condescension. He then made it clear that the company would much rather deal with the Pentagon and its loyal Congressional allies than the Department of Transportation, for example, and the uncertain political support for mass transit. "Everybody talks about these other businesses," he said, "but no one is coming around with the checkbook. In any case, none of these ideas will solve our immediate problems. They're talking about building a mass transit system here in Seattle, but even if they started today, they wouldn't need the hardware for eight years."

In the end, therefore, the only answer is government action, of two kinds. The first is the carrot and the stick approach. Guarantee these huge companies a market—for housing, for subway cars, for anti-pollution devices—comparable to the aerospace market. Big business will never act like a charity; it will only do what pays. At the same time, they can be prodded to diversify when it is made clear that the military budget is not infinitely expandable, that no matter what the difficulties involved, we are just not going to keep building SST's and B-1's. Maybe the only real solution, as J. K. Galbraith has said, is nationalization of the aerospace industry.

At the same time, the government must be willing to accept the responsibility for the enormous dislocations that would result from any sharp reduction in military spending. That means unemployment compensation, guaranteed incomes, job training. Even a well-planned shift in expenditures from war to peace would involve large lags. For this reason, perhaps more than any other, I remain pessimistic. The military-industrialists might be too large and unwieldy to be affected by mere mortals. Their political and even ideological power can be counteracted. But their greatest strength is their sheer size and inertia. What do you do with a dead dinosaur in your backyard?

JESTER SONG AT TWILIGHT

THE STAGE

When the opening of Art Buchwald's *Sheep on the Runway* (at the Helen Hayes) was followed shortly by Jules Feiffer's *The White House Murder Case* (at the Circle in the Square) several of the more serious reviewers commented on the sudden burst of satire, noting how desperately that genre was needed today but how, alas, neither of these plays quite satisfied the want. I agree that there are weaknesses in both plays, but it is the central assumption of that criticism which I doubt. It is based on a definition of satire in which the genre is a cleansing mechanism, a theatrical or literary device which, by ridiculing political or social mores, forces the audience to see behavior in a rational perspective that leads to necessary change, beneficent reform. I have always suspected that the advocates of medicinal art, from Sir Philip Sidney to Bertolt Brecht, have overstated the case. Still, at times satire can be a sane voice in a troubled world, a base point for those who want to keep their heads when all about them . . . as Kipling so unsatirically put it. Today, however, satire is a kind of poor relation, pushed into an uncomfortable corner by an actuality that is not only monumentally and horrifyingly inane—as it always was—but which displays itself readily on television and in the daily newspapers. How can Buchwald and Feiffer hope to equal the TV interview with the mother of one of the GI's charged with the Songmy massacre, a bewildered black woman who complains of white duplicity, shocked that her son is under attack for doing what is expected of him—killing those people so we can take the land. How can their invention touch that of the White House publicity staff when it explains that

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a man who fires back when he is under attack, destroying one of the enemy before he himself is killed, is not a combat loss. How even can they approach a confrontation like that of Jerry Rubin on the Dick Cavett show, meeting an old radical buddy turned reactionary, riding over him with predictable rhetoric and, then, becoming properly quiet for the commercial.

Now that the Laotian mess is no longer a secret, the AID cover for CIA operations a matter of record and the Cambodian government arse over teakettle, the Buchwald play is even more timely than it was when it opened in February. The playwright has managed to get almost everything into Nonomura, his fictional Himalayan country—a CIA-inspired revolution, an accidental bombing, a hardware-peddling general, a panacea-peddling AID man, a Throttlebottom of an ambassador, a student revolutionary, a self-congratulatory columnist bird-dogging Red threats and toppling dominoes. Yet, there is no anger, no bite, no toughness in the play; any laughter that it invokes is indulgent. Like a Buchwald column, the play is harmless. For instance, the portrait of Joseph Alsop—denied on all sides—which should be merciless, is good clean fun, an insider's game. I was reminded of Yevgeny Yevtushenko's article on Robert Kennedy's 42nd birthday party in which he described Buchwald as a "well-fed tomcat that, nonetheless, from time to time, loves to dig his claws into those who pet him." Even if the material in *Sheep on the Runway* were not overshadowed by reality, its implicit satire would be softened by virtue of Buchwald's position as Washington's resident wit. His barbs do not wound; they only scratch surfaces and cause dinner invitations to sprout.

The White House Murder Case is finally not much more effective than *Sheep on the Runway*, although it tries to be both funnier and harsher. It, too, has its limited war (in Brazil) and its collection of technological and political evils—nerve gas and an image-conscious cabinet. It juxtaposes the battlefield with the White House, suggesting a mutual cause-effect in action and language, but the White House scene—like so many of Feiffer's cartoons—are more plausible than penetrating, and the battle scenes with their polite chatter about legs and arms dropping off are neither funny nor horrible. Reviewers generally described the play as a gathering of disconnected scenes and ideas, but I suspect that it is more of a piece than it at first seems. After all *Little Murders*, which elicited the same kind of criticism, is a tightly made play, its disparate turns held together by strong thematic threads. The difficulty for me was not that the twin build—to the murder in the jungle and to the covering up of murder in the White House—seemed like separate actions, but that the climax in both cases was empty theatrically, rhetorical gestures that suggested nothing but Feiffer's striking an attitude. The play was redolent with sincerity, but Feiffer's sincere satire, like Buchwald's lovable satire, somehow ends as a kind of

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acceptance, a way of coping by domesticating the unbearable.

My negative response to the two plays is probably a little unfair. There are good performances in both plays. And a number of funny bits. The moment of benign lunacy in *Sheep on the Runway* when Richard Castellano as the deposed prince reaches eagerly for the phone, hoping to talk to the President: "Oh, let *me* speak to Pat." The slapstick scene in the Feiffer play in which the blind, paralyzed general flounders dignifiedly amidst the churning feet and fists of the frightened cabinet. My amusement in the first instance was cheerful, in the second, demonic, but in neither case was my laughter a weapon. Yevtushenko, who ought to know since he is one of Moscow's well-fed tomcats, might have been speaking about Feiffer as much as Buchwald when he said that a "tamed accuser" is more useful than frightening to men in power.

GERALD WEALES

BOOKS

Daniel Berrigan winds the spring tighter

The Trial of the Catonsville Nine

DANIEL BERRIGAN

Beacon Press, $5.95

Trial Poems

DANIEL BERRIGAN & TOM LEWIS

Beacon Press, $17.50

JAMES FINN

On May 17, 1968 nine people entered local draft board number 33 in Catonsville, Maryland, placed hundreds of individual draft files in wire baskets, carried them out to a parking lot and set them afire with homemade napalm.

On October 5-9, 1968 in a Baltimore Federal Court, Philip Berrigan, Daniel Berrigan, Thomas Lewis, James Darst, John Hogan, Marjorie Melville, Thomas Melville, George Mische, and Mary Moylan were judged guilty of destroying U.S. property, of destroying Selective Service records and interfering with the Selective Service Act of 1967. Their appeal to the Supreme Court has been turned down and by the time these words are printed they may be in jail, serving sentences that range from three to six years.

Respublica locuta, causa finita est. Is this the case? The defendants have had a fair and impartial trial, have been judged guilty and now, as felons, can serve out their sentences while the nation, and the rest of us, can go about our daily business secure in the small knowledge that their present fate will dissuade other dissenters from equally foolish acts? Alas, I fear not. What has gone before may yet prove only prologue, the greater events and the greater meaning gradually unfolding in the months and years to come.

Judging by these two books, this is what the defendants themselves foresee. As Daniel Berrigan writes in his Introduction to *The Trial,* "this work had but one purpose therefore: to wind the spring tighter," the spring, of course, being all that was comprehended in the act of burning the draft files, all that the defendants attempted to introduce into the trial, all that they feared the legal procedures would obscure. In a quite different way the book he produced with Lewis does the same thing. *Trial Poems* is a handsome, outsize facsimile edition of drawings by Lewis, overwritten with Berrigan's poems, all produced within the confines of jail and smuggled out by friends. Using only the crudest artistic materials—all that he could devise from what was available—Lewis has produced effective work that yields up its full intent only to close attention. Berrigan's poems are meditations on the relation between society and the act for which they were yet to be judged and sentenced.

The Trial of the Catonsville Nine is a condensed, shaped account of that judging and sentencing, a dramatic presentation in which the defendants account for their actions and assert, against prosecution and judge, their right to introduce into the proceedings the values which for them are inseperable from their acts. The formal structure of the book, paralleling the formal context of the court, brings into sharp confrontation contrasting values and attitudes concerning Vietnam, the social ills of America, the proper jurisdiction of the Court and, indeed, all that is generally suggested by the terms "system" and "establishment."

The prosecution, for example, stated: "This trial does not include the issues of the Vietnam conflict. It does not include the issue of whether the United States ought to be in the conflict or out of it." And again: ". . . to the extent that our country has problems, these problems will be solved. . . . But our problems are not going to be solved by people who deliberately violate our laws, the foundation and support for an ordered and just and civilized society."

And Philip Berrigan, for example: "We see no evidence that the institutions of this country, including our own churches, are able to provide the type of change that justice calls for. . . . We believe that this has occurred because law is no longer serving the needs of the people; which is a pretty good definition of morality."

And Daniel Berrigan: "My brother's action helped me realize from the beginning of our republic good men had said no, acted outside the law when

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conditions so demanded. And if a man did this, time might vindicate him."

This risk, it is clear, is now; vindication, if it comes, lies in the future. The Catonsville Nine risked not only a punitive sentence—which they did in fact receive—and the scorn and contempt of the Establishment, not only a sudden embrace and equally sudden rejection by young people who now counsel more damaging attacks on the system; they risked also the jaundiced look and principled criticism of liberal and radical friends in the movement. For they were engaged in a very special act of civil disobedience, the validity and justice of which must always turn on a judgment of the particulars in which the act is embedded, and here reasonable men will make different judgments.

When the draft files were bloodied in Baltimore and burned in Catonsville, I was not among those who saw these as great symbolic acts that would illumine our situation and enlighten the nation. Nor was I ready to urge others on to similar acts that might land them in jail. In thinking about this event I felt many of the same emotions I feel when I read Thoreau's "Of Civil Disobedience," as I have done a number of times in the last several years.

Thoreau, too, took issue with his government on issues of racist institutions and expansionist warfare. ("Witness the present Vietnam war, the work of comparatively few individuals using the standing government as their tool; for, in the outset, the people would not have consented to this measure." Thoreau's sentence, except that I have substituted Vietnam for Mexican.) And in the midst of confused and complicated issues he, too, asserted a bedrock certainty and clarity of judgment that initially repel me rather than attract. Thoreau found no value in a system of law, and the Catonsville Nine find little in the system that operates in this country today. The links in Thoreau's chain of argument are sometimes ill-fitted and sometimes altogether missing, and so I find much of that offered by the Catonsville Nine.

But always, finally, there is Thoreau's unyielding, flint-like integrity and a judgment that has been certified by time. It is not after all a bad tradition to be part of, to carry on, and no small thing to do it as well as have the members of the Catonsville Nine.

Some of the nine have been scornful of those who analyze and criticize their action while offering no better alternative. I am no more persuaded or intimidated by that opinion when it comes from them than when it comes, as it regularly does, from leaders of our government. One does not have to be able to lay an egg to detect one that is rotten. We must here be true to our own perceptions and declare that what we see we see. There is the crucial difference, however, that the power of the Catonsville Nine is exactly what they can extract from their own human resources while the power at the disposal of our government is immense! It is not the nine we must set straight but a government whose actions and policies are horribly askew today. Those of us with our own resources of criticism would do well to direct them at the proper targets. And when days of sadness and distress settle on our land with ever increasing weight, we would do well to forge what alliances are possible, and to remember what Philip Berrigan expressed exactly: "There is no one way, there are as many ways as there are men or communities. It is up to us to pursue our way as best we know how, and to respect theirs."

Beyond that, those of us who continue to have reservations about some techniques of civil disobedience can accept the opportunity offered by these two books to ponder the problem yet again. For every day we see mounting evidence of what dire things are ac-

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complished in the name of authority and obedience. There have been times in the past when good and strong men believed that duly constituted authority had to be opposed, had to be disobeyed; for the Catonsville Nine and others that time is now; for many others that time may yet come.

No Bars to Manhood

DANIEL BERRIGAN

Doubleday, $5.95

HARRY J. CARGAS

The question is bothering me. How will I be able to face Dan Berrigan when he gets out of jail? He gave witness, definitively, at Catonsville (with those eight magnificent others) and I have only cheered him on. He risked social destruction in the profoundly symbolic act of napalming draft records and I participate by merely reading his books.

What has happened, of course, is that the prophet has saved himself by offering himself as victim, and the rest of us are still looking for comfortable avenues to salvation. His truth hurts us in his latest collection of essays, not because he wishes injury but because we, in ourselves, feel our inactivity: "In a sense, I claim a certain sorry advantage over most of those who have yet to choose the place and time of their response to American violence, a response that will embody their existence and carry their lives captive, in bonds to a choice, in a direction they cannot yet know." Our Augustinian answer is I will, I will, but not yet.

For those who have been meaning to read Berrigan but haven't quite begun, *No Bars to Manhood* is a good place to start. There are nineteen essays and two poems and most of the material hasn't been in periodicals before. He ranges from autobiography to Eldridge Cleaver, from Jeremiah to Gandhi, from *Lear* to Ionesco, from Catonsville to Cornell. With the insights of a poet and activist, Berrigan offers what can be described as gusty spiritual reading for the contemporary concerned.

This is important reading on two levels. We learn about issues and we learn about the inner life of a just man. First, the man. We get a sketch of childhood, preparation for and ordination as a Jesuit priest, study, contact with the French worker-priest movement suppressed by Rome in 1954; we read a little about poverty and peace work, college teaching and Eastern Europe, exile to South America for conscience's sake, a Cornell assignment and then Catonsville. These are interesting because they happened.

But insights will perhaps mean more to us who lead lives of excited inactivity. Why for example, does Berrigan opt for Camus over Teilhard? "In these two, Camus and Teilhard, the humanist meets the futurist. And, let it be added,

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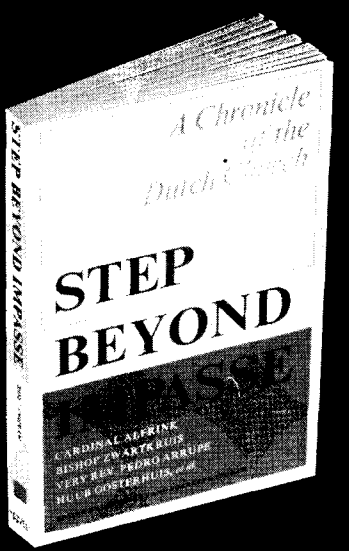

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the humanist comes off on certain key attitudes, immeasurably the better." (Berrigan told me that he'd read all of Teilhard in French, but that Teilhard's "hope" was considerably removed from Berrigan's own experience.)

Campus riots at Cornell achieve an archetypal importance in Berrigan's witness. Authorities will have to bear the blame for a system that, including bribes and rewards, aims to do nothing other than perpetrate a testament to the values of our parents and society.

Lawyers are a target of Berrigan conversation. Here they are marked in print. The law profession acts against man. Law schools "produce judges who prosecute men like my brother and myself, instead of prosecuting the men who are prosecuting a genocidal war. . . . The law profession, in fact, is connecting with fewer needs, fewer issues, and fewer men."

For a Christian activist, "The word of God is one of crisis." And for a poet, the words of politicians are caged in hypocrisy. A new President takes his oath of office on the Biblical passage that speaks of transforming swords into plowshares, then raises the military budget. "I am concerned with so simple a thing as language." What does it mean, "Blessed are the makers of peace?" He is certain that "The obscenity of the sons is purer than the hypocrisy of the parents." Here is the poet in the new tradition of Allen Ginsberg and LeRoi Jones.

The Church, with her death-urge, "her diluting of the facts of life, and the consequent malfunctioning of religious people in face of the brute facts of change" gets some attention. So does the nation, fully four-fifths illiterate "beginning with the men who wield power over us, and continuing through the universities, the legal institutions, and the churches . . ."

The two levels of man and issues, Berrigan and insights, are best fused in the section on the prophets Jeremiah, Paul, Bonhoeffer and Gandhi. Paul in chains is almost a theme on Berrigan. Of Jeremiah, Berrigan speaks about "A man profoundly in touch with his tradition, a man profoundly at odds with his tradition." A more autobiographical utterance is impossible to imagine.

So Berrigan goes to jail, and we read his books and . . .?

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Eagle Or Sun?

OCTAVIO PAZ

TRANS. ELIOT WEINBERGER

October House, $6.50

RONALD CHRIST

Octavio Paz is Mexico's greatest living poet. But let's face it: that's like saying William Carlos Williams was Paterson's best writer. For Americans, a better way of indicating Paz's importance will have to be found. Perhaps it would be more suggestive to say that in the universe of Latin American writing, Neruda's poetry is solar: a lavish, Hispanic fulmination—like a Tamayo watermelon—and Paz's poetry lunar: a rarer, Gallic luminosity—like a Magritte moon—; or, to put it another way, to say that while Neruda is directly concerned with the world, its objects and processes (including poetry), Paz is more frequently concerned with poetry, its procedures and words (meaning things).

But let's really face it: Paz is an even better essayist than he is a poet. His 1950 evocation of Mexican character and culture, *The Labyrinth of Solitude*, is, in fact, devoted to the real world and it produces an astonishing image of a whole nation, truer than the profound truths it reveals for presenting them in a mythos made entirely beautiful. Written in a lucid, rich prose, *Labyrinth of Solitude* is Paz's poetic masterpiece. And his volume of poetics, *El arco y la lira* (still untranslated) is more indispensable and uniquely expressive than much of the poetry he has written. So we confront a major poet who writes invaluable prose, and that's exactly where *Eagle or Sun?* comes in.

Eagle or Sun? was published one year after *Labyrinth of Solitude*, and, as its title signifies, the book continues

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Paz's search for Mexican identity. (The title images refer to the obverse and reverse of a Mexican coin; the title poem explains: "Today I fight alone with a word. That which concerns me, to which I concern: heads or tails? eagle or sun?") But the book also continues Paz's vacillating search for his authorial identity, and he might just as well have written: "Today I fight alone with a form. Heads or tails? prose or poetry?" because *Eagle or Sun?* is a series of short prose poems (miniature, highly imaginative *essais*, really) marking a crucial instance in Paz's career where he has consciously tried to dissolve the images of his poetry in the fluid of his prose without sacrificing the nature of either.

Eagle or Sun?, then, is a significant experiment in the career of a significant poet, and its longest piece, "My Life with the Wave" (which tells of a man's falling in love with a wave, his taking her home and the tides of their affair until she freezes in his absence and he sells her to a waiter who chops her up into little pieces to chill bottles) is a breathtaking success. It is a fantasy as delicate as anything by Hans Christian Andersen or Perrault, as magical as anything by André Breton or Dali and as beautiful as anything else by Paz. "My Life with the Wave" alone justifies the experiment and the volume.

For the most part, however, this book is the self-referring self-scrutiny of an intense artist using prose to make words into things ("a bit of air in a pure mouth, a bit of water on greedy lips") as he stands in awe of things made into poetry ("the cantos of sand . . . said by the wind a single time in a single interminable phrase, sourceless, endless, senseless"). Like so much contemporary art, *Eagle or Sun?* is self-consciously about itself; but, for a change, intelligently, illuminatingly so. Thus it is not a carefree volume, because Paz explains that "Every poem is made at the poet's expense"; and while it sings the pain of creation—the Passion of Poetry, not the passion *in* poetry is Paz's theme—it also celebrates the poetic opportunity by rejoicing in the "World to populate, blank page," privileging us to witness a poet who can accurately say that "From my body images gush" while he gracefully avoids that modern literary pitfall, "a bramble of allusions, tangled and fatal." Of course everything in *Eagle or Sun?* is not as good as "My Life with the Wave," but by pointing always in the direction of itself, the book establishes its own elevated norms and provides a fine introduction to all of Paz's work.

Less fortunately, the publishers have provided no table of contents or index to list the pieces by title or initial phrase, nor have they divulged anything about the translator, Eliot Weinberger. Nevertheless they have had the good sense to issue *Eagle or Sun?* in a bilingual edition so that phrases like "to which I concern" and *"Light light the headless things"* can easily be checked against the clarity of Paz's Spanish. On the whole, though, this is a good translation and it is encouraging to know that Mr. Weinberger is at work on a larger selection of Paz's poetry. For too

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long, too much of this important writer's work has been out of print in English or, worse, simply untranslated.

Church Politics
KEITH R. BRIDSTON
World, $4.95

RAYMOND A. SCHROTH

The week I began this book a Boston Jesuit announced that he was running for Congress. Father Robert F. Drinan's decision to fight for political power—although for a secular rather than an ecclesiastical post—was at least in the spirit of Keith R. Bridston's thesis: politics is not a dirty game but a Christian art.

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Bridston, a theology professor at Pacific Lutheran Seminary and the son of a North Dakota State Senator, has written a jargony, plodding, and artificially organized book studded with insights on a critical problem. Drawing on the work of Reinhold Niebuhr and Hans Küng and the documents of Vatican II, he argues convincingly that the Christian church, if it is to survive, must model its political structures on those of secular democratic society.

Church Politics' program is at once radical and conservative: radical in that elections would force some elements in the Catholic church leadership to stop pretending that authoritarianism and secrecy are divinely sanctioned, or that an undemocratic manner of appointing church leaders has freed the church from the taint of political maneuvering; conservative in that the author underlines the need for institutions at a time when the anti-institutional psychosis, particularly among the young, is leading a good many Christians to chuck structures as useless or corrupt.

The modern church's greatest weakness, Bridston maintains, is that it has denied its essentially political nature. He prefaces each chapter with news stories on ecclesiastical conflicts over segregation, birth control, liturgical change and finances in which church officials scramble and maneuver to retain their power and end up looking venal, irrelevant, or absurd. A collage emerges of churches' repressing rather than creatively channeling man's natural drive for power.

Dominant trends in traditional piety, such as the Christian's quest for perfection defined in terms of individual holiness, have led us to stress God's love so much that we have submerged the fact of his power. Consequently, the very idea of church politics has been difficult to absorb. Ironically, power has been relegated to the realm of the "unspiritual" at the same time that the actual church politicians have protected themselves from the checks and public criticisms that curb the worst secular politicians by wrapping themselves in the cultural taboos that traditionally cloak religious figures.

Bridston proposes that the churches embrace their political natures and virtually sacramentalize the electoral process. Confirmation would become the rite of political adulthood; clerics would overtly campaign for ecclesiastical offices with the cooperation of a free church press and with financial subsidies for their campaigns. In his strongest chapter he argues that democracy is far from alien to the church: we see it in the book of Acts and in the general tradition of church government, particularly in the election of the pope. Celibacy has also had its political effects in that it has saved the church from hereditary bishoprics and from entrenched family dynasties.

Yet, even though elections might preserve us from some of the worst abuses of ecclesiastical authority, a more fundamental problem remains. Bridston may have been led on by the myth of structural reform—like the student government leaders who begin each year by revising the student constitution instead of getting to work. The church's first obligation is to retain—or regain—its moral and ethical authority. The question is not so much whether a particular church structure—hierarchical or democratic—has divine sanction but rather what kind of community organization will give Christian leaders maximum freedom to proclaim the Gospel. To be specific, is it the fault of the structures that church leaders kept mum even on one recent issue that simply cried out for moral testimony: the massacre of civilians in Vietnam? Or is the problem deeper?

At its best, the hierarchical system could liberate pastors and bishops from the forces which, as DeToqueville and

REVIEWERS

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Lord Bryce warned, reduce democratic leadership to the lowest common denominator. After all, the "system" has allowed occasional exhilarating freedom and power to Archbishop Roberts, Bishop Parilla-Bonilla, the late Bishop Sheil and, in some shining moments, Bishop Sheen and Cardinal Cushing.

For the most part, though, the church's record for moral leadership has been mixed. On issues of sexual morality, pastors have been known to demand heroism; but on moral issues that question the American dream—racism, nationalism, domestic political repression—we had best look for moral outrage to Tom Wicker or the *New York Review of Books.*

Perhaps the problem isn't so much in the structures as in the men and the degree to which individuals allow themselves to be crippled by the cultures they serve and which serve them—by the curse of ambition, the willingness of "religious" people to trim and rationalize, to play the same political games as other lovers of power. As Ronald Sampson illustrates in his brilliant essay, "The Vanity of Humanism" (*The Nation,* 12/29/69), "And this quest for power, commonly disguised by what appear to be good or disinterested motives, is the primal source of the evil we feel ourselves called upon to overcome."

It remains to be seen to what extent democratic structures will make the Christian witness more courageous and whether applying the "power to the people" policy to the church will make the new clergy closer to the poor, more loving, more ready to sacrifice their own lives and ambitions. So warned, we should give Bridston's program a try—before it is too late.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 131)

only a pimp from a New Orleans whorehouse would carry pearl-handled guns, and that his own actually were ivory-handled.

Having twice come within view of that roaring tempest myself in the European Theater of Operations, I can confirm his complaint of misrepresentation in the matter of his personal armaments.

DAVID DAVIDSON

Indians in Brazil

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: I have received a clipping from *Commonweal* of February 6, 1970, of an article entitled "Genocide in Brazil" [News & Views]. It appears to be a rewrite of propaganda which appeared some months ago in the European press and since shown to be without foundation in fact whatsoever.

The falsity of the allegations should have been apparent to you from the first paragraph of your article, which speaks of "mass murder of hundreds of thousands of victims," when the total population of tribal Indians in Brazil has been between 90,000 and 100,000 altogether—and still is.

I am enclosing a tearsheet on this subject from a recent Brazilian Bulletin and would appreciate your further comment and due investigation of the facts.

The charge about giving Indians smallpox through "impregnated clothing," incidentally, dates back to the Indian siege of Ft. Pitt in U.S. colonial days and was probably picked up by a European sensation-seeker from a U.S. history book.

PAULO TARSO F. DE LIMA
Director,
Brazilian Gov't. Trade Bureau

Reply

Neither the above letter nor the enclosed Bulletin provides evidence that the stories distilled from the *London Times, Christ und Welt, Jeune Afrique,* etc., were propaganda. In fact, the Bulletin in some ways strengthens reports it is anxious to disprove, by noting that Brazil's Indian population, now between 90,000 and 100,000 was once estimated at about a million.

JOHN DEEDY

What governs our morality?

"Rubenstein is a natural dazzler. He swings from Sartre to Freud, from McLuhan to Marcuse, from Hebron to Majorca . . . and never loses his brainy cool. . . . His book is important reading." EUGENE B. BOROWITZ. *The New York Times Book Review.*

As Rabbi Rubenstein, one of the exponents of radical theology and the new morality sees it, Modern Man faces a terrifying paradox. Contemporary technology—the Pill, the computer, TV and the Bomb have raised profound questions concerning traditional religious values. Man is more powerful, yet his new freedom leaves him more perplexed than ever.

What shall we do with our freedom? Can we find a realistic sexual morality for the married and the unmarried? How do parents cope with strangers who are their own children? Can we learn to be at home in our own bodies? Can religion survive the death of God? Dr. Rubenstein may disturb you. He will certainly challenge you as he outlines a new morality based upon a Dionysian pragmatism.

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